

Message Text

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2666
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INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

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FROM US REP MBFR

USSALTTWO

BELGRADE ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORTS TO THE NAC

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE. ALL OTHER MBFR MISSIONS ROUTINE.

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AT ITS MARCH 8 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED A
WRITTEN REPORT TO THE NAC ON THE STATUS OF EFFORTS BY
WESTERN NEGOTIATORS TO IMPLEMENT THE GUIDANCE
CONTAINED IN C-M(78)7 REGARDING PROCEDURES FOR CONDUCTING
A FURTHER EAST-WEST EXCHANGE OF MILITARY MANPOWER
DATA. THE REPORT WILL BE SUPPLEMENTED BY THE AHG
ORAL REPORT TO THE NAC ON MARCH 10. THE GROUP APPROVED

AT THE SAME MEETING THE OUTLINE TO BE USED BY UK REP (BOLLAND) IN MAKING THE LATTER REPORT. UK REP WILL BE ASSISTED BY LUXEMBOURG REP (WINTER) AND DANISH REP (HANSEN). UK REP WILL DRAW ON MATERIAL IN THE OUTLINE. UNLIKE WRITTEN REPORTS TO THE NAC, THE AD HOC GROUP DOES NOT UNDERTAKE WORD-FOR-WORD APPROVAL OF THESE OUTLINES, WHICH ARE CONSIDERED AS SPEAKING NOTES. THE TEXT OF BOTH THE MARCH 8 WRITTEN REPORT AND THE MARCH 10 ORAL REPORT OUTLINE FOLLOW BELOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

WRITTEN REPORT TO NAC - 8 MARCH 1978

MBFR: DATA EXCHANGE WITH THE EAST

INTRODUCTION

1. FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIS ROUND, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE MADE INTENSIVE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES SET OUT IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL'S GUIDANCE C-M(78)7 OF 3 FEBRUARY. IN THE INTEREST OF SECURING AN EARLY EXCHANGE OF FURTHER DATA, THE WEST OBTAINED EASTERN AGREEMENT TO DOUBLE THE NORMAL FREQUENCY OF INFORMAL MEETINGS.

2. ON 10 MARCH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AD HOC GROUP WILL
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MAKE AN ORAL REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON THE POSITION REACHED IN THESE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EAST. THE DISCUSSIONS HAVE FOCUSED ON THE DRAFT TEXT OF ORAL STATEMENTS WHICH THE EAST INSISTS SHOULD PRECEDE A DATA EXCHANGE. THE GROUP IS THEREFORE SENDING THIS WRITTEN REPORT IN ORDER TO INFORM THE COUNCIL, IN ADVANCE OF THE MEETING ON 10 MARCH OF THE DETAILED POSITION NOW REACHED ON THE TEXT OF SUCH STATEMENTS. AN ANNOTATED DRAFT TEXT OF THE STATEMENTS IS ATTACHED.

THE NEED FOR ORAL STATEMENTS

3. IN THE INITIAL INFORMAL ON 7 FEBRUARY AND SUBSEQUENTLY, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES INSISTED THAT THEY SAW NO NEED FOR ORAL STATEMENTS AND WERE PREPARED TO EXCHANGE FURTHER DATA EITHER WITHOUT ANY SUCH STATEMENTS, OR WITH ONLY A SHORT DISCLAIMER (SECTION IIA OF C-M (78) 7). THE EAST STATED CATEGORICALLY THAT SUCH SOLUTIONS WERE UNACCEPTABLE AND THAT IT COULD NOT PROCEED TO THE EXCHANGE OF FURTHER DATA WITHOUT AGREED ORAL STATEMENTS. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES THEREFORE PRESSED HARD IN NINE CONSECUTIVE INFORMAL SESSIONS FOR EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE AMENDMENTS TO THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENTS CONTAINED IN SECTION II(D) OF C-M'78)7.

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THE ORAL STATEMENTS: SPECIFIC RESULTS

4. THE GROUP HAS BEEN LARGELY SUCCESSFUL IN ACHIEVING
THIS OBJECTIVE. SPECIFICALLY:

(A) SECTION 1: AFTER INITIAL RESISTANCE, THE EAST AGREED
TO CARRY OUT A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ENTIRE TEXTS.
AS A RESULT, EDITORIAL AND TRANSLATION CHANGES WERE
PROVISIONALLY AGREED. TWO SUCH CHANGES PROPOSED IN
SECTION 1 ARE HELPFUL TO THE WESTERN POSITION:

(I) THE EAST AGREED TO DELETE IN THE FIRST SENTENCE THE
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WORDS "FOR EACH COUNTRY" AND TO ADD THE PHRASE "OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT" AT THE END OF THE SENTENCE. THE REVISED SENTENCE IS AN IMPROVEMENT, AVOIDING ANY POSSIBLE CONNOTATION OF NATIONAL CEILINGS.

(II) THE EAST AGREED THAT THE LANGUAGE OF THE SECOND SENTENCE OF SECTION 1 SHOULD READ "PARTICIPANTS COULD ALSO SEPARATELY EXCHANGE DATA FOR AIR FORCE MANPOWER". THUS A POSSIBLE IMPLICATION THAT AIR FORCE MANPOWER DATA WOULD BE PROVIDED ON A SEPARATE BASIS OR INDIVIDUALLY FOR EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT HAS BEEN REMOVED.

(B) SECTION 2:

(I) THE EAST ACCEPTED ALL THE AMENDMENTS PROPOSED IN COUNCIL GUIDANCE FOR THE FIRST TWO SENTENCES OF SECTION 2, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE FIRST PHRASE OF THE FIRST SENTENCE (SEE PARAGRAPH 5 BELOW). THUS, BY MAKING CLEAR THAT THE WEST AGREES TO EXCHANGE THE DATA DESCRIBED IN SECTION 1 ONLY, AS MODIFIED BY THE UNDERSTANDING IN SECTION 2, POSSIBLE AMBIGUITIES ABOUT PRECISELY WHICH ELEMENTS OF THE EAST'S 25 OCTOBER PROPOSALS THE WEST HAS ACCEPTED HAVE BEEN REMOVED;

(II) THE EAST ACCEPTED THE AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY THE COUNCIL IN THE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE OF THE FIRST PARAGRAPH. THUS, ANY IMPLICATION THAT THE WEST WOULD PRESENT AIR FORCE MANPOWER ON A NATIONAL BASIS HAS BEEN ELIMINATED.

(C) SECTION 3:

THE EAST OFFERED ON 16 FEBRUARY TO DROP THE REFERENCE IN SECTION 3 TO THE 25 OCTOBER PROPOSAL. ON 2 MARCH,
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WHEN PROPOSING THEIR AMENDED LANGUAGE FOR THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES MADE CLEAR THAT THIS PROPOSAL WAS CONTINGENT ON WESTERN AGREEMENT THAT REFERENCE SHOULD BE MADE IN SECTION 3 TO THE 25 OCTOBER PROPOSAL. C-M(78)7 ALLOWS THE WEST TO ACCEPT THIS REFERENCE. HOWEVER, IN RESPONSE TO CONTINUED WESTERN QUESTIONING REGARDING THE NEED FOR THIS REFERENCE, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ON 7 MARCH AGREED TO DELETE IT, IF THE WEST ACCEPTED THE NEW EASTERN LANGUAGE FOR THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2.

(D) SECTION 4:

(I) THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THIS SECTION HAS BEEN SLIGHTLY

EXPANDED WITHOUT, HOWEVER, INVOLVING ANY CHANGES OF
SUBSTANCE

(II) THE EAST ACCEPTED THE NO-PREJUDICE DISCLAIMER
PROPOSED BY THE COUNCIL FOR THE SECOND SENTENCE OF
SECTION 4 WITH MINOR AMENDMENTS PROVIDED THAT THE EAST'S
SUGGESTED AMENDMENT TO THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 2
(SEE PARAGRAPH 5 BELOW) IS ACCEPTED BY THE WEST. THE
REVISED LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY THE EAST MAKES ABSOLUTELY
CLEAR THAT THE METHOD OF DATA EXCHANGE CANNOT PROJUDICE
THE POSITION OF EITHER SIDE REGARDING THE NATURE OF
REDUCTION AND LIMITATION COMMITMENTS.

5. OUTSTANDING ISSUES. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES WERE
SUCCESSFUL ALSO IN ACHIEVING A CHANGE IN THE FIRST PHRASE
OF THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2. AS A RESULT OF
PROLONGED PRESSURE FROM WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES, THE
EAST PROPOSED ON 2 MARCH THAT THE LANGUAGE FOR THIS
PHRASE IN THE 14 DECEMBER TEXT SHOULD BE AMENDED TO
READ QUOTE THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS AGREE TO EXCHANGE DATA
ON THE BASIS OF THE JUST CITED PROPOSALS OF THE WARSAW
TREATY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS STATES OF 25 OCTOBER 1977,
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UNDER THE FOLLOWING UNDERSTANDING: UNQUOTE. ON 8 MARCH,
IN RESPONSE TO RESERVATIONS STATED BY WESTERN PARTICIPANTS
REGARDING THE PHRASE QUOTE ON THE BASIS OF UNQUOTE,
EASTERN PARTICIPANTS SAID THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO
REPLACE THIS PHRASE BY QUOTE IN ACCORDANCE WITH UNQUOTE.
ALTHOUGH THIS LANGUAGE IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT PROPOSED
BY THE COUNCIL IN C-M(78)7, FROM THE WESTERN POINT OF
VIEW IT REPRESENTS AN IMPROVEMENT ON THE LANGUAGE IN THE
14 DECEMBER TEXT FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

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(A) IT MAKES ENTIRELY CLEAR THAT THE WEST IS NOT AGREEING TO THE PROPOSAL OF 25 OCTOBER AS SUCH, BUT ONLY AGREES TO EXCHANGE THE DATA ON THE BASIS OF THOSE ASPECTS OF THE EAST'S 25 OCTOBER PROPOSAL WHICH ARE CITED IN SECTION 1. CONSEQUENTLY, THE TEXT COULD NOT CONVINCINGLY BE USED BY THE EAST TO SUPPORT THE CONTENTION THAT THE WEST HAS ACCEPTED ELEMENTS OF THE 25 OCTOBER PROPOSAL WHICH WERE NOT QUOTED BY THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVE IN SECTION 1.
(B) THUS, THE INCLUSION OF THE WORDS QUOTE TO EXCHANGE DATA UNQUOTE, PARTICULARLY WHEN FOLLOWED BY THE PHRASE QUOTE UNDER THE FOLLOWING UNDERSTANDING UNQUOTE, MAKES CLEAR THE WEST'S AGREEMENT RELATES TO THE SPECIFIC ACTION
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OF THE PRESENT DATA EXCHANGE AND NOT TO ANY GENERAL PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE FUTURE OF THE DATA DISCUSSION WHICH THE EAST MIGHT CLAIM ARE CONTAINED IN ITS 25 OCTOBER PROPOSAL.
(C) EASTERN WILLINGNESS TO REPLACE THE PHRASE QUOTE ON THE BASIS OF, UNQUOTE BY QUOTE IN ACCORDANCE WITH UNQUOTE FURTHER UNDERLINES THIS POINT.

6. STATEMENTS IN INFORMALS. THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSIONS IN INFORMAL MEETINGS WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES MADE CLEAR, AND EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES INDICATED THEIR AGREEMENT (SEE SUB-PARAGRAPH 7(C) BELOW), THAT THE ORAL STATEMENTS WOULD APPLY ONLY TO THE DATA EXCHANGE NOW UNDER DISCUSSION. THE WEST HAS THEREFORE PLACED CLEARLY ON THE NEGOTIATING RECORD THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE DRAFT STATEMENTS RELATE ONLY TO THE PRESENT DATA EXCHANGE AND DO NOT ESTABLISH A GENERAL BASIS APPLICABLE TO POSSIBLE FUTURE

EXCHANGES OF NUMERICAL DATA.

7. IN DISCUSSIONS OF THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2 EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES PLACED ON THE NEGOTIATING RECORD A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS IN CLARIFICATION OF THEIR POSITION. THESE STATEMENTS ARE HELPFUL TO THE WESTERN POSITION. THEY ARE AS FOLLOWS:

(A) THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE QUOTED BACK TO THE WEST A STATEMENT MADE BY THE NETHERLANDS REPRESENTATIVE ON 14 FEBRUARY IN WHICH THE LATTER SAID THE WEST UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONCEPT OF THE AGREED STATEMENTS WAS QUOTE TO RESTRICT THE ORAL STATEMENTS TO A DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA THE TWO SIDES HAD AGREED TO EXCHANGE AND TO OMIT ANY CONDITIONS AS TO FUTURE DISCUSSION UNQUOTE. THE EAST HAS THUS INDICATED FULL AWARENESS OF THE WESTERN POSITION.

(B) ON 2 MARCH THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE SAID THAT, UNDER
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THE EAST'S PROPOSAL FOR AN AMENDMENT TO THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2, QUOTE THE WEST DID NOT HAVE TO AGREE WITH THE EASTERN PROPOSALS OF 25 OCTOBER BUT WITH THE LIST OF DATA DESCRIBED IN SECTION 1 UNQUOTE. THIS, HE SAID, WAS QUOTE AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT THING UNQUOTE.

(C) IN PROPOSING THIS EASTERN AMENDMENT FOR THE FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2, THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE REPEATEDLY AFFIRMED QUOTE THAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES SAW NOTHING IN SECTION 1 THAT COULD AFFECT A FUTURE DATA EXCHANGE UNQUOTE.

8. EVALUATION. THE AD HOC GROUP CONSIDERS THAT:

(A) IT HAS BROUGHT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES TO ACCEPT THE BULK OF THE COUNCIL'S GUIDANCE;

(B) IN SO DOING, THE WEST HAS REMOVED THE RISK THAT THE EAST COULD SUBSEQUENTLY ARGUE CONVINCINGLY THAT THE ORAL STATEMENTS CONSTITUTE A CONSTRAINT ON FUTURE ACTIONS BY THE WEST IN THE DATA DISCUSSION;

(C) FURTHER NEGOTIATION ON THE TEXT IS UNLIKELY TO BRING SUBSTANTIAL EASTERN MOVEMENT ON THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES;
AND

(D) TO PROTRACT THE DISCUSSION OF THE ORAL STATEMENTS MIGHT BE CONSIDERED DISADVANTAGEOUS TO THE WEST BECAUSE IT WOULD STILL FURTHER DELAY THE EXCHANGE OF ADDITIONAL DATA AND THE PRESENTATION OF THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE.

9. THE AD HOC GROUP THEREFORE CONSIDERS THAT THE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE ESTABLISHED THE BEST BASIS FOR THE EARLY EXCHANGE OF ADDITIONAL DATA ATTAINABLE NOW OR IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. END TEXT.

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BEGIN TEXT OF ATTACHMENT TO WRITTEN REPORT:

NOTE: LANGUAGE IN PARENTHESES INDICATES MATERIAL DELETED
FROM THE DECEMBER 14 TEXT. UNDERLINED LANGUAGE
INDICATES NEW MATERIAL ADDED AS A RESULT OF THE
DISCUSSIONS. CHANGES NOT OTHERWISE DESCRIBED IN THE
PRECEDING ANALYSIS OF THE STATEMENT ARE THE RESULT EITHER
OF SUGGESTIONS PROVIDED BY TRANSLATORS OF BOTH SIDES OR
OF EDITORIAL CORRECTIONS.

OUTLINE OF SUGGESTED ORAL STATEMENTS

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1. A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS WOULD SAY:

QUOTE: THE GDR, THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AND THE SOVIET UNION SUBMITTED ON OCTOBER 25, 1977 A PROPOSAL TO PRESENT ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY, (FOR EACH COUNTRY) THE OVERALL NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF GROUND FORCES IN MAJOR FORMATIONS AS WELL AS THE OVERALL MANPOWER OF FORCES OTHER THAN PERSONNEL IN THESE FORMATIONS BEGIN UNDERLINE OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT. END UNDERLINE PARTICIPANTS COULD ALSO BEGIN UNDERLINE SEPARATELY END UNDERLINE EXCHANGE (SEPARATE) DATA FOR AIR FORCE MANPOWER. IN DISCUSSING ALL THESE FIGURES, WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS ARE WILLING TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE WISHES OF THE WESTERN STATES THAT THE FIGURE FOR THE PERSONNEL OF THE JOINT NATO HEADQUARTERS BE SUBMITTED AS AN INTEGRATED ONE, WITHOUT BEING SUB-DIVIDED INTO NATIONAL ELEMENTS.

AT THE SAME TIME, WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS SUGGESTED THAT THE MANNING LEVELS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF STATES SUBJECT TO REDUCTION SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. SUCH CONSIDERATION NATURALLY SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY. THIS MEANS THAT WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS ARE READY TO TABLE PERCENTAGES OF THE MANNING LEVELS OF THE ARMED FORCES OF EACH SOCIALIST STATE DIRECT PARTICIPANT IN THE REDUCTION AREA AS OF JANUARY 1, 1976, PROVIDED THAT WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT STATES FOR THEIR PART WOULD SUBMIT THE PERCENTAGE OF MANNING LEVELS OF EACH NATO COUNTRY'S ARMED FORCES LOCATED IN CENTRAL EUROPE AS OF THE SAME DATE UNQUOTE.

2. A WESTERN REPRESENTATIVE WOULD SAY: QUOTE:

THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS AGREE (WITH THE CITED PROPOSALS OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS OF 25 OCTOBER 1977, ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING UNDERSTANDING:) BEGIN UNDERLINE TO EXCHANGE DATA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE JUST CITED PROPOSALS OF THE SECRET

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WARSAW TREATY STATES DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OF OCTOBER 25, 1977, UNDER THE FOLLOWING UNDERSTANDING: END UNDERLINE IN ADDITION, PARTICIPANTS SHOULD EXCHANGE (OVERALL FIGURES FOR) BEGIN UNDERLINE TOTAL NUMERICAL DATA ON END UNDERLINE THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL (OF THE WESTERN AND EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS) IN MAJOR FORMATIONS BEGIN UNDERLINE OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CANADA AND LUXEMBOURG, END UNDERLINE AND BEGIN UNDERLINE TOTAL NUMERICAL DATA ON THE END UNDERLINE (A SECOND OVERALL FIGURE FOR OTHER) GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF BEGIN UNDERLINE EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT OTHER THAN THOSE IN MAJOR FORMATIONS END UNDERLINE (THESE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.) BEGIN UNDERLINE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL PRESENT A SINGLE FIGURE FOR THEIR GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS. IN ADDITION, PARTICIPANTS SHOULD EXCHANGE OVERALL FIGURES FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF THE WESTERN AND EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS

IN MAJOR FORMATIONS AND A SECOND OVERALL FIGURE FOR OTHER GROUND
FORCE PERSONNEL OF THESE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. END UNDERLINE.
AS TO AIR FORCE MANPOWER DATA, WE ARE PREPARED TO
PRESENT FIGURES FOR THE PERSONNEL BEGIN UNDERLINE IN MAJOR
FORMATIONS, END UNDERLINE (OF EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT
DIVIDED BETWEEN PERSONNEL OF MAJOR FORMATIONS,) THAT IS,
PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO TACTICAL AIR COMMANDS AND TO TACTICAL
AIR FORCES, AND REMAINING PERSONNEL BEGIN UNDERLINE OF EACH
WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT END UNDERLINE EXCEPT FOR CANADA, FOR
WHICH ONLY ONE FIGURE WILL BE PRESENTED SINCE IT DOES NOT HAVE
MAJOR FORMATIONS IN THE AREA BEGIN UNDERLINE OF REDUCTIONS,
END UNDERLINE AND LUXEMBOURG, WHICH DOES NOT HAVE AN AIR FORCE.
IN ADDITION, THE WEST WILL PRESENT A SIGLE FIGURE FOR THE AIR
FORCE PERSONNEL OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ASSIGNED TO MULTI-
LATERAL HEADQUARTERS.

EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD PRESENT A SINGLE FIGURE
FOR THE AIR FORCE MANPOWER OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT.

WESTERN PARTICIPANTS, (HOWEVER,) BEGIN UNDERLINE AT THE SAME
TIME, END UNDERLINE PROPOSE THAT EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD
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ALSO CONSIDER DIVIDING THEIR AIR FORCE MANPOWER BETWEEN THOSE
IN MAJOR FORMATIONS AND REMAINING PERSONNEL, USING THE
FORMULA SUGGESTED BY THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS.

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AS REGARDS THE PROPOSAL OF THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS THAT THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONSIDER EXCHANGING DATA ON THE MANNING LEVELS OF ARMED FORCES OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS, THIS PROPOSAL WILL BE CAREFULLY STUDIED AND A REPLY TO IT WILL BE MADE SUBSEQUENTLY UNQUOTE.

3. A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS WOULD SAY:

QUOTE: THE SOCIALIST STATES DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AGREE TO THE WESTERN SUGGESTION TO EXCHANGE OVERALL FIGURES FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS OF THE NATO AND THE WARSAW TREATY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND A SECOND OVERALL FIGURE FOR OTHER
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GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF THESE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

WITH RESPECT TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL TO DIVIDE FOR EACH PARTICIPANT THE BEGIN UNDERLINE NUMERICAL END UNDERLINE DATA ON ITS AIR FORCE MANPOWER, THIS PROPOSAL WILL BE CAREFULLY STUDIED AND A REPLY TO IT WILL BE MADE SUBSEQUENTLY.

THEREFORE, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, TO SUMMARIZE THE STATEMENTS MADE BY EACH SIDE IN THE PRESENT SESSION, PARTICIPANTS HAVE AGREED TO EXCHANGE THE FOLLOWING FIGURES: (SPECIFIED IN THE PROPOSAL OF THE SOCIALIST STATES OF OCTOBER 29 JUST CITED AND IN THE STATEMENTS OF WESTERN AND WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS MADE IN THE PRESENT SESSION:)

A. OVERALL FIGURES FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS OF THE NATO AND WARSAW TREATY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND A SECOND OVERALL FIGURE FOR (OTHER) BEGIN UNDERLINE THE END UNDERLINE PERSONNEL OF THESE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS BEGIN UNDERLINE OTHER THAN THOSE IN THESE FORMATIONS END UNDERLINE WILL BE EXCHANGED.

B. THE WEST WILL PRESENT A FIGURE FOR ITS GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS.

C. DATA ON THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CANADA AND LUXEMBOURG, WILL BE EXCHANGED.

D. FIGURES FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT OTHER THAN THOSE IN MAJOR FORMATIONS WILL BE EXCHANGED.

E. DURING THIS ROUND, THE SIDES WILL ALSO EXCHANGE DATA ON THE AIR FORCE MANPOWER OF BEGIN UNDERLINE EACH END UNDERLINE DIRECT SECRET

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PARTICIPANT, BEGIN UNDERLINE WITH THE EXCEPTION OF LUXEMBOURG, END UNDERLINE (STATES,) PRESENTING THOSE DATA IN A FORM WHICH EACH OF THE SIDES DEEMS MOST EXPEDIENT FOR ITSELF UNQUOTE.

4. A WESTERN REPRESENTATIVE WOULD REPLY: QUOTE (THIS IS CORRECT AND WE CAN NOW PROCEED TO THE EXCHANGE OF GROUND FORCE DATA). BEGIN UNDERLINE THE STATEMENT JUST MADE IS CORRECT AND WE AGREE TO IT. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE EXCHANGE OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED DATA IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITIONS OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON GENERAL QUESTIONS OF REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF THE ARMED FORCES. NOW WE CAN PROCEED TO THE EXCHANGE OF DATA ON GROUND FORCES. END UNDERLINE.

5. A WARSAW TREATY REPRESENTATIVE WOULD THEN SUGGEST THAT THE WEST PRESENT ITS GROUND FORCE DATA.

6. THE WARSAW TREATY DELEGATIONS WOULD THEN PRESENT THEIR GROUND FORCE DATA. END TEXT OF ATTACHMENT TO WRITTEN REPORT.

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2671
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 6 OF 7 MBFR VIENNA 0111

BEGIN TEXT:

ORAL REPORT TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL: 10 MARCH 1978

INTRODUCTION

1. OUR REPORT TODAY CONCENTRATES ENTIRELY UPON THE POSITION NOW REACHED FOLLOWING INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EAST ABOUT AN EXCHANGE OF FURTHER DATA IN NINE INFORMAL MEETINGS WHICH WE HAVE HELD SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THIS ROUND.

2. IN THE COURSE OF THESE DISCUSSIONS BOTH SIDES HAVE MADE
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STATEMENTS ON GENERAL ISSUES; AND BOTH EAST AND WEST HAVE, OF COURSE, CONTINUED IN PLENARY SESSIONS TO EXPOUND THEIR RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS. BUT IN THE LIGHT OF SECTION 3 OF THE COUNCIL'S GUIDANCE C-M(78)7 OF 3 FEBRUARY THE AD HOC GROUP BELIEVES THE COUNCIL WILL FIND IT USEFUL ON THIS OCCASION TO LEAVE ASIDE CONSIDERATION OF THESE GENERAL ISSUES ON WHICH THERE HAS BEEN NO PROGRESS.

THE DATA EXCHANGE: DRAFT TEXT OF STATEMENTS

3. THE COUNCIL WILL HAVE RECEIVED FROM THE AD HOC GROUP A WRITTEN REPORT DATED 8 MARCH SETTING OUT IN DETAIL THE POSITION REACHED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EAST ON THE DRAFT TEXTS OF ORAL STATEMENTS WHICH THE EAST INSISTS MUST PRECEDE A FURTHER DATA EXCHANGE. TO THIS REPORT THE AD HOC GROUP ATTACHED A COPY OF A DRAFT TEXT OF THESE STATEMENTS. THE COUNCIL IS THEREFORE AWARE OF THE PRECISE LANGUAGE WHICH THE EAST HAS PROVISIONALLY AGREED TO ACCEPT. I SHOULD MENTION THAT BOTH

SIDES RECOGNIZE THAT IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THEIR TRANSLATORS TO HARMONIZE THE FINAL TEXT OF THE ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN VERSIONS OF THESE STATEMENTS.

4. SINCE THE COUNCIL HAS BEFORE IT THE DETAILED TEXTUAL AMENDMENTS NOW PROPOSED, WE THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO TURN AT ONCE TO PARAGRAPHS 8 AND 9 OF THE WRITTEN REPORT - THAT IS TO THE AD HOC GROUP'S ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION - RATHER THAN TO GO OVER IN DETAIL THE DRAFT TEXTS. WE WILL, HOWEVER, DO OUR BEST TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS WHICH YOU MAY HAVE ON THE POINTS RAISED IN PARAGRAPHS 1-7 OF THE AD HOC GROUP'S WRITTEN REPORT.

AD HOC GROUP'S EVALUATION (PARAGRAPHS 8 AND 9 OF THE WRITTEN REPORT)

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5. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ROUND, THE AD HOC GROUP DECIDED THAT IT STOOD THE BEST CHANCE OF PERSUADING THE EAST TO MOVE TO THE POSITION SET OUT IN C-M(78)7 BY USING COUNCIL GUIDANCE IN SUCH A WAY AS TO EXTRACT FROM IT THE GREATEST POSSIBLE NEGOTIATING LEVERAGE.

6. IN THE LIGHT OF SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS WE CONSIDER THIS APPROACH TO HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE. BY DEPLOYING OUR ARGUMENTS IN A SERIES OF INDIVIDUAL MOVES, RATHER THAN TABLING AT AN EARLY STAGE THE WHOLE OF THE TEXT CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH II(D) OF COUNCIL GUIDANCE, WE WERE ABLE TO BRING THE EAST TO MAKE A NUMBER OF SUBSTANTIVE CONCESSIONS.

7. INDEED, AS THE AD HOC GROUP STATED IN THE FIRST SUB-HEADING OF ITS EVALUATION (PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE REPORT) WE CONSIDER THAT THE EAST HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO ACCEPT THE BULK OF THE COUNCIL'S GUIDANCE OF 3 FEBRUARY.

8. AS A RESULT OF THIS PROCESS OF DETAILED DISCUSSION, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WERE ABLE TO ENSURE THAT THE EAST PUT IN THE NEGOTIATING RECORD A NUMBER OF HELPFUL STATEMENTS ABOUT THE 25 OCTOBER PROPOSAL. THESE STATEMENTS, AND THE REASONS WHY WE BELIEVE THEM TO BE IMPORTANT TO THE WEST, ARE DESCRIBED IN PARAGRAPH 7 OF THE AD HOC GROUP'S REPORT. I WOULD DRAW YOUR ATTENTION PARTICULARLY TO SUB-PARAGRAPH 7(C) WHERE, AS YOU WILL SEE, AMBASSADOR TARASOV AFFIRMED QUOTE THAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES SAW NOTHING IN THIS SECTION 1 THAT COULD AFFECT A FUTURE DATA EXCHANGE. UNQUOTE. YOU WILL RECALL THAT, IN SECTION 2, ALL THAT WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES WOULD AGREE TO WOULD BE THE CONTENTS OF SECTION 1, THAT IS, TO THE EXCHANGE OF THE DATA ITEMS DESCRIBED THERE.

9. IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EAST IT WAS THE FIRST PART OF THE
FIRST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2 OF THE ORAL STATEMENT WHICH CAUSED
THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY. IT WAS ONLY AS A RESULT OF CONSISTENT
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WESTERN PRESSURE THAT THE EAST ON 2 MARCH CAME FORWARD WITH A
PROPOSAL TO AMEND THE LANGUAGE USED IN THE EAST'S ORIGINAL
14 DECEMBER PROPOSAL. ON 8 MARCH THE EAST OFFERED THE FURTHER
HELPFUL AMENDMENT DESCRIBED IN PARAGRAPH 5 (C) OF THE AD HOC
GROUP'S WRITTEN REPORT. ALTHOUGH THE LANGUAGE NOW PROPOSED BY
THE EAST IS NOT THE SAME AS THAT SET OUT IN THE COUNCIL'S
GUIDANCE, THE AD HOC GROUP BELIEVES THAT IT IS SIMILAR IN
SUBSTANCE AND, IN ANY CASE, A CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT OVER
THE LANGUAGE IN THE DRAFT STATEMENT OF 14 DECEMBER. THIS IS
BECAUSE:

(A) FIRST, THE NEW LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY THE EAST MAKES IT CLEAR
THAT THE WEST IS NOT AGREEING TO THE PROPOSAL OF 25 OCTOBER AS
SUCH, BUT WOULD AGREE IN SECTION 2 ONLY TO THOSE ELEMENTS OF
THE 25 OCTOBER PROPOSALS WHICH ARE QUOTED BY AN EASTERN
REPRESENTATIVE IN SECTION 1.

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
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O 081945Z MAR 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2672
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(B) SECOND, THE WESTERN AGREEMENT IN SECTION 2 IS
QUALIFIED BY THE UNDERSTANDING SET OUT IN
DETAIL FURTHER ON IN THIS SECTION; AND

(C) THIRD, THE EAST'S OFFER TO INCLUDE THE WORDS QUOTE TO
EXCHANGE DATA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE JUST CITED PROPOSALS
UNQUOTE ALSO SERVES TO REMOVE AMBIGUITY ABOUT WHAT THE WEST
IS AGREEING TO. IT IS CLEAR FROM THE REVISED TEXT THAT THE
WEST IS NOT AGREEING TO ANY ACTION OTHER THAN THE PRESENT
EXCHANGE OF DATA. FOR THIS REASON, WE DO NOT SEE HOW THE
EAST COULD ARGUE CONVINCINGLY THAT THE WEST HAD GIVEN ITS
AGREEMENT TO ANY GENERAL PRINCIPLES LIMITING THE FUTURE OF
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THE DATA DISCUSSION.

10. THE AD HOC GROUP CONSIDERS THAT THE TEXTUAL AMENDMENTS
NOW PROPOSED, TAKEN TOGETHER WITH THE STATEMENTS MADE ON
THE RECORD BY EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES, MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR
THE EAST CONVINCINGLY TO ARGUE THAT THE REVISED ORAL
STATEMENTS CONTAIN LANGUAGE RESTRICTING EITHER OUR RIGHT
IN THE FUTURE TO CONDUCT THE DATA DISCUSSION AS WE SEE
BEST, OR OUR RIGHT TO REQUEST FURTHER DATA DISAGGREGATION
IF WE DEEM THIS NECESSARY IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS
IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

11. AFTER AN INITIAL PERIOD OF STUBBORN RESISTANCE, EASTERN
NEGOTIATORS HAVE ON THE WHOLE SHOWN THEMSELVES WILLING TO
APPROACH THIS ISSUE CONSTRUCTIVELY. THEY HAVE MADE A NUMBER
OF CONCESSIONS. THE AD HOC GROUP DOES NOT CONSIDER IT LIKELY
THAT FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TEXT WILL BRING MORE EASTERN
MOVEMENT. THE GROUP CONSIDERS THAT, ON THE CONTRARY, IT WOULD
NOT NOW BE TO WESTERN ADVANTAGE TO PROTRACT THE DISCUSSION OF
THE ORAL STATEMENTS BECAUSE:

(A) A LENGTHY HAGGLING OVER DETAILED DRAFTING POINTS
WOULD DETRACT FROM OUR CLAIM THAT WE WISH TO MOVE AHEAD
IN THE NEGOTIATIONS;

(B) IT WOULD DELAY, PROBABLY FOR A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD
OF TIME, THE TABLING OF DATA WHICH IS A MATTER OF INTRINSIC
INTEREST TO THE WEST BUT NOT TO THE EAST; AND

(C) IT WOULD ALSO DELAY STILL FURTHER THE TABLING OF THE
NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE. IT MIGHT EVEN MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE
FOR THE WEST TO MAKE THIS MOVE BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS
SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE
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WEST WOULD LOSE AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW THAT IT
IS MAKING A MAJOR EFFORT TO MOVE THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS
FORWARD; AND

(D) AS THE EAST IS AWARE OF THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE AND
CONSEQUENTLY WILL NOT MOVE ON SUBSTANCE UNTIL THE INITIATIVE
IS PRESENTED, THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD REMAIN AT A STANDSTILL
WITHOUT NEW PROPOSALS FROM EITHER SIDE.

12. THE AD HOC GROUP CONSIDERS THAT WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE
ESTABLISHED THE BEST BASIS FOR THE EARLY EXCHANGE OF ADDITIONAL
DATA ATTAINABLE NOW OR IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

13. THE GROUP HOPES THAT THE COUNCIL WILL PROVIDE IT WITH
NEW GUIDANCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. END TEXT.RESOR

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